2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

837 Adultery, by the Mongol code and also by the Kazak code credited to the Khan
684 Tiavka,[56] was punishable by death. Zaleskie[57] describes the unpleasant fate of adulterers. Adultery, however, in later times, came to be considered largely in the light of an offense against property for which compensation might be offered if it were acceptable to the husband. A wife might leave her husband and live with her lover provided the latter paid a bride price to the husband.[58]

595 It is difficult to distinguish between marriage and concubinage. My informants knew that Mohammedan law permitted a man only four wives but thought that additional women living regularly with him would also be wives. If he had obtained them by paying kalym they certainly would be. Grodekov says that a man might have as many wives as he wished, but if he had more than four he was expected to maintain sex relations only with the last four in the order of their acquisition.[59]

834 Sexual hospitality seems to have been unknown as an accepted practice. Grodekov writes:[60]

> Although the custom of sexual hospitality exists . . . in Siberia, in the south there is little of it. In one issue of statistical materials for the Turkestan district there is mentioned a custom by which the guest might place his hands three times on the breasts of a sleeping girl and if she did not push him away this was taken to indicate her acquiescence. The bii Kanaev [one of Grodekov's informants] denied any such right of the guest, saying "Such a thing could not be and would not even be mentioned."

My informants were mildly shocked at the suggestion, but one of them said that although a man certainly would not offer his wife or daughter to an overnight guest, yet if the guest happened to find favor in the eyes of a daughter she might join him of her own accord after the parents were asleep.

MARRIAGE

584 First marriages were usually arranged by the parents of the parties concerned, who, especially the girls, had very little voice in the choice of their mate. Grodekov,[61] however, indicates that a girl might break off an engagement with a distasteful financé but if she " . . . has been engaged from four to eight years the engagement is considered a marriage and she may not break it off if the man is unwilling." Also the privilege of the girl to at least protest is indicated by the curious statement: "When the daughter of a rich man or of a butcher attains the age of ten, or of a poor man fifteen, then the adat [customary law] permits a declaration from her concerning a reluctance to marry the man chosen by her father." Grodekov explains the inclusion of the butcher's daughter by saying that " . . . the daughter of a rich man, who eats well, and of a butcher, who lives on meat, reach their

55. Riazanovskii, Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes, 57.

[56] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 399.

[57] *La Vie des steppes*, 23.

[58] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[59] *Loc. cit.*

[60] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 93.

[61] *Idem*, 36.

2: Hudson K-4, 5 (1936) 1938 BQ2 Kazak BQ8

majority earlier than a poor girl." Children were sometimes affianced in infancy and it occasionally happened that men who were close friends would agree to marry their as yet unborn children.[82]

When the financial status of the family made it possible, marriage took place at a very early age. Rudenko[83] states that boys were sometimes married at the age of eight or nine to women of middle age and girls not unusually married before sexual maturity. Lattimore[84] also mentions that in some regions it was customary for a boy first to marry a much older woman and later take a younger wife, relegating the first to the position of wife-emerita. In individual cases this would of course sometimes result from the levirate.[85] The age of marriage, however, was usually affected by the social and economic position of the family, because it was difficult for the poor to accumulate the bride price. Grodekov[86] says that the rich customarily married between the ages of twelve and fifteen but the poor much later, sometimes not until thirty. Daughters were married off as soon as possible in order to obtain the bride price and save the expense of supporting them at home.[87]

Marriages naturally tended to take place between families of the same social and economic status. My informants said that occasionally the son of a rich man might marry a daughter of a poor family because of her attractions. The opposite case of a poor man marrying a wealthy girl was very unusual and although it might perhaps occur the informants knew of no instances. Karutz[88] declares that as a rule rich married with rich and poor with poor, although there might be rare exceptions in the case of a family of distinguished ancestry, which, though formerly wealthy, had been suddenly reduced to poverty through disaster to their herds. Here the illustrious pedigree and good name of the family would compensate for their poverty for purposes of a matrimonial alliance.

The first essential preliminary to marriage was that of fixing the amount of the bride price (kalym). This varied greatly with the attractions of the prospective bride, the economic status of the families concerned and their relations to one another. Between families which were related, though not of course too closely, a reduced "relatives' kalym" was paid.[89] According to my information a rough approximation of the amount of kalym to be asked was first decided by the bride's father, perhaps in consultation with his relatives, and a process of bargaining then began with the bridegroom or his representatives. Possibly the bij (local judge) might be called in to arbitrate. Levshin suggests[90] that the mullah (priest) set the amount of the kalym, for which he received a commission. My informants

[82] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 358.
[83] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 48.
[84] Lattimore (E.), *Turkestan Reunion*, 268.
[85] See below, pages 53–54.
[86] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 54.
[87] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.
[88] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 98–99.
[89] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 40.
[90] *Description des hordes*, 358.

the dishonor.

When the payment of the kalym is finished, the groom begins to go to the bride at her father's house, and she realizes that he is incapable of marital relations, she refuses to marry him as a result. Then respected persons give the groom over to be examined, and if in the course of a year this is not rectified, the bride is given the right to marry another, and the kalym paid by the groom is returned to him.

If a father betrothes his daughter in her childhood and receives the kalym for her, and upon reaching maturity she does not wish to marry her fiance, and her father does not wish it either, she still cannot go away from him unless the groom says that he does not want her for himself. /58/ In such a case the girl's father pays the kalym received from him and in addition a fine of twenty-seven animals, beginning with a camel and ending with sheep and goats.

If a girl who was betrothed in her infancy runs away with some young man after reaching maturity, then the latter must give her former groom a girl or else pay the bride price.

In general, according to customary law, the saying of a praye[585] and the reception of the kalym are equivalent to a wedding.

In consequence of disagreement (oraz), the groom either becomes engaged to another girl or goes away for a long period of time. In the first case the previous bride is offended. The groom explains to her he will marry her after the other girl, but she does not wish to be the servant of others and returns the kalym minus 1 or 2 animals (kara). In the second case the girl's father loses patience and betrothes the girl to another. Then the groom appears and demands "either the kalym or the wife." The girl's father must give up the kalym with a fine of atton /a horse and a coat/.

The determination of the fine for breaking off the betrothal by one of the sides is completely dependant on the biis. If the refusal was caused, for example, by non-payment of the kalym, the fine is usually smaller. In general, if someone quits in the course of the payment of the kalym in installments, he pays a biilyk, and the sum which has been paid is returned minus one horse and one camel.

The choosing of the bride depends on the groom's father, who sends a stranger (khalis adam) in the capacity of a yauchi, so as not to expose himself to accidents which might spoil the whole affair. The yauchi begins the conversation, saying: "You have a falcon, we have a gerfalcon" (sizde lashin bar iken bizde sunkar bar iken).

584 They bargain over the amount of the kalym. The yauchi presents a gift kargibau, and receives as a gift a horse or a coat, which is called chege chapan (nail-coat), because he has validated the betrothal. The father of the bride sets the day, through this yauchi, for the coming of the groom's father with the formal proposal, for regalement and for delivering gifts to him (kiit kiib, sois yeb, kuda tusib ketsin). According to Makovetskii, "the formal proposal is frequently separated from /59/ the first agreement by many years, for example, if the groom and bride are in the cradle at the time of the agreement." Then the father or a kinsman of the groom becomes the matchmaker (kuda) who appears in the house of the bride, usually accompanied by relatives, for the formal proposal, the agreement about the kalym and the acceptance of the gifts kiit. According to Makovetskii, the more important the people making the match, the larger the number of matchmakers, sometimes more than twenty. As they approach the village of the bride's father, the matchmakers stop with his kinsmen and send an announcement of their coming from there. The bride's father notifies his relatives and friends of the presence of the matchmakers and orders the setting out of tents for the guests. When they appear, the matchmakers make the proposal in the presence of guests, which is accepted and validated by the slaughter of a white sheep and the reading of a blessing /baty/. The most valuable of the gifts is given to the father of the groom. This is required even when the groom's father is not among the matchmakers. In this case the gift is sent to him at home. According to the report of bii Khamahammed, the color of the sheep is indifferent; it can also be a kid and poor people can buy meat at the bazaar. He also says that the best gift is presented to the groom's father or to the person who is taking his place.

For the consecration of the contract which has been concluded, those present are regaled with fat-tail sheep fat (kuyruk) and liver (baur) which is cut into long strips. The platter with the kuyrukbaur is offered first to the groom's relatives and then to the bride's relatives. After this ritual the groom already speaks of his bride as "my lawful wife" (nikakhli khatynym). The feast, called kuda tusertoy, sometimes continues for several days. They arrange a baiga /horse race/, a fight, and the singing of choruses and soloists (zhirchi), who sing folk epics or compete in improvisations, playing on the balalaika (dombra), violin (kobyz) and flute (sybyzga). [534]

All during the merry-making the matchmakers play the most mournful role. The young women and girls make fun of them in all

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possible ways. They strip them naked and drag them through the village with a rope around the neck, as the laughing-stock of the people. /60/ They are sewn into felt during the eating. They do such unpleasant things with them, that it is impossible to tell of them here. They drag them by the legs through the changarak /the hoop at the top of the tent/, etc. There have been cases where the women have caused the death of matchmakers from playing with them. In such a case their husbands and kinsmen are held responsible for the wergeld nevertheless.

After this the father or a kinsman of the bride, but with a smaller number of people than the matchmakers on the groom's side, visit the father of the groom and receive kiit gifts from him. According to bii Sultan, the kiit, which is determined by stipulation (kesimdi) is for the use of the bride's father. What the other matchmakers receive depends on the free will of the groom's father, without being fixed (kesimsiz). Regalement with kuyrukbaur is not obligatory. If the entire kalym is not paid on this visit, then the first installment is, in the presence of the guests. Further installments can be presented without witnesses. If the bride's father denies having received them, an oath is required of him alone. Relatives and acquaintances (tamyr, yekchet) contribute to the kalym (kalynga kosady) often of their free will. There is no custom for the matchmakers to give more than the value of the gift received by them from the bride's father (this contradicts Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 16).

Among the Kirgiz a rich father of the groom slaughters 4-5 sheep, a poor one 2 or 3. They are cooked at night. On the following day this meat, which is called "toy" is packed on a good animal, on whose head they tie a piece of cotton, called aktyk, for a sign (irym), and it is led to the bride's father. The animal is presented to him with the words: "for the transport of your treasure, " if it is a camel, or "for you to eat", if it is a horse. He is also given a sarypay. (1) The

1. Coat.

groom remains home. At the matchmaking they arrange baiga or kukbure /game played on horseback with kid. Cf. chapter XII/, the playing on the balalaika (2) and the zurna /type of oboe/.

[534]

2. The Kirgiz balalaika has 3 strings, while the Kazakh one has only 2.

584 The matchmaking can be from both sides (karsyma karsy kuda bulmyk, atastyrmak), in which case neither side pays a kalym.

/61/ The brothers of the father refuse to support their nephews in paying the kalyms of the latter (kalynmalga kosady). For the son of a poor but respected man the group of fifty or the village arranges a collection for the kalym (yurttyk kylyb yardam tigizedi). Here everyone gives as much as he wishes.

583 The choice of the groom by the bride does happen, but without the payment of a kalym (Perovsk uyezd). Earlier this did not happen, according to the report of bii Umurbek of the Auliye-Ata uyezd. Now there are cases where the girl flees to the choice of her heart against the will of the father (erksiz). After this her chosen husband can be compelled to pay the kalym and a fine.

The man guilty of carrying away the bride appears before her father with gifts (tartu tartib), asking forgiveness by saying: "Forgive me. I too am your son" (menen utingiz, mende balangiz). These gifts do not oblige the girl's father to refuse the kalym. According to Absatyamov of the Chimkent uyezd, the groom must pay a double kalym as a punishment.

584 The story of Karabai and Sarybai, who entered into matchmaking before the birth of their children, is confirmation of the sacredness of the betrothal. Sarybai died. Karabai did not wish to marry his daughter Bayan-Sulu to an orphan, and he travelled away with his herds and married her to Kodarkul. The son of Sarybai, Kazykurpish, came to Bayan-Sulu, and hid with her in a trunk, but his long hair(1)

1. Long hair for men is referred to in magic tales.

which hung outside betrayed him. Karabai's family spared his life, but Kodarkul killed him. Later on he himself was killed by the hand of Bayan-Sulu.

The Kirgiz do not determine the amount of the kalym at the betrothal. At the beginning they give 2-3 animals, and thereafter 1-2 animals annually. Only on the "ui dzhany kylgan" visit does the girl's father ask the groom for the first time: "How much more will you pay? You specify it. What went before does not count" (burungy mal isebsiz, inde kancha beresin? uzing bil'). Then the amount of the bride price is determined. If it is difficult to pay the designated sum after this, the parents of the groom, with /62/ other relatives, take a slaughtered animal to the tent of the girl's father. On the question of those who encounter them: "Where are you going?"

(yol bulsun), they reply: "We are going to our in-law /knashemu svatu/ to beat the forehead" (kudamyzga kulduk urgaly barayatyrmiz). The future wife's father forgives about one-third of the kalym for the sake of the groom's father. After this the wife of the suppliant says: "I am your matchmaker, and I too came to beat my forehead" (men de kudagaying men de kulduk urgali kel'dim), and for her sake he forgives about one-sixth of the kalym. Finally, for the sake of the rest of the family, he gives up still another small amount. The remainder must be paid without fail. The bride's father can fail to agree to the reduction and demand the payment in full (Torgai).

According to Kurpetai Dauletkulov, the Kirgiz pay at the beginning without keeping accounts. Later when the bride is 13-16 years old, the groom's father says: "My property is being exhausted, and if not my property, then at least my days are being exhausted. Give the girl. My son and your daughter are both grown" (malym yitti, malym yitmese, kunim yitti, kyzny ber, balamda chungaydy, sening kyzyng da chungaydy). The Kirgiz Daniyar says that after a year after the matchmaking an "opening of the doors" is arranged corresponding to the Kazakh oruntoy, and ishikachty (1), with baiga, kukbure, playing on the balalaika and the zurna. The women receive yirtich and the bride's father receives an animal. If he is satisfied with it he says: "I have opened the door" and makes a presentation of a coat. The groom asks: "How many more animals am I to give you? When will you give the bride?" The rich man overcharges more than the poor. By promising to keep it a secret, the groom can spend the night with the bride and have a foretaste of marital delights.

1. Concerning the word imchekkuru the informant says that inspection of the breasts takes place among the young people of the village, but secretly of course, and if someone sees it, then the outcome is nasty (yaman bulady). Judging by this, imchekkuru in Vambery's book, in the chapter on the Kirgiz, appeared by mistake in place of ishikachty.

The groom cannot go to the family of the bride or into her village. If they see him there he is reprimanded, and in the Auliye-Ata uyezd his horse is taken from him and he is obliged to walk home in shame. In case of necessity he waits outside the village (aulnyng sirtinda). The women bring him food, for he /63/ can neither enter the house of the bride's father (ata) nor the house of the latter's family, including his elder brother (ulkun ata), the son of this brother (kainaga),

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and in general the older relatives of the bride's father (ul'kun ui). If the bride's father has not received his allotment and lives or lived in their home, then this also includes the younger relatives of the bride's father. The groom can enter the tent of the younger brother of the bride's father, and his younger relatives, but cannot sit in the place of honor, tur. An exception is made if the groom was already a friend /tamyr/ before the betrothal with someone from that family. Then he continues to enter the house of his tamyr without constraint, "because he is already not ashamed to do so."

The bride does not visit the village of the groom. Otherwise she could no longer return home. She also does not enter the village of the older or younger kin of her future father-in-law. If necessary she goes to a younger relative, if the father-in-law does not or did not live in his tent as not having received his allotment. Even this she can only do with a ransom (elyu) consisting of a scarf (oramal, bogdzhama), a headdress (yaulyk), a ring (sakyna), etc. with the goal of a good omen (irym kylyb).

The fiancee is called kalyndyk among the Kazakhs and koruktyk among the Kirgiz. Her being visited by the groom (kuyau) before the wedding, secretly (yasyryn), is called orunbargan or oruntoy by the Kazakhs, and ui dzhany kylgan by the Kirgiz. The girl's father, to whom the groom does not show himself, ignores his visit, and if strangers take it into their heads to scold him, he tells them he does not mix into other people's affairs. "Perhaps the groom is dead," says the girl's father, "so that he cannot come, although he gave the animal for slaughter." (ul'teruni bergen sung, ulub yatyr kuyau sha bara vermai).

The groom brings a goat (serke) to the oruntoy to be slaughtered (ul'tiru) at the bride's older brother's, at whose tent the oruntoy takes place, and whose wife (yenge) serves as intermediary, bringing the bride for one or two nights. The groom lies with the bride, but is not supposed to perform complete intercourse.

When the food is cooked they throw a piece of fat into the fire, saying: /64/ "may it go for the spirit of so-and-so" (balenning arvakhina tiisin) and give the names of dead relatives.

The purpose of the oruntoy, this ancient custom of all the Kazakhs, is the encouragement of the groom and the advisement to finish paying the kalym. There are cases in which the daughter is given away at the oruntoy, trusting the promise of the groom to finish paying the kalym, and evading the arrangement of a solemn wedding (Torgai). In the Perovsk uyezd it was reported that the

daughter is not given away to the groom until the full payment of the kalym, guarding against the groom's failure to fulfill his promise concerning the remaining payment of the kalym. It is now becoming customary (Auliye-Ata uyezd) that after finishing the payment of the kalym the groom comes to receive the bride at night, and goes away secretly without celebrating a wedding. In the Kurama uyezd the poor do this, regaling those who are invited with only one kettle of groats (butka). In this case it is self-evident that they dispense with toymal (1)

[585]

1. The Kazakh Khudaykul of the Kurama uyezd has paid the kalym and toymal short of one mare. The father of his bride is advising him, out of covetousness, to give him one horse and take the bride away secretly. But Khudaykul is demanding the arrangement of a wedding on the toymal received, promising to provide the remaining mare.

/cf. table of kalyms, chapter VI/. 1

According to bii Sultan and Makovetskii, when the groom departs for the oruntoy, he takes with him one fellow-traveller - kuyau yuldasy (Makovetskii has otagasy), - who accompanies him the entire time of the oruntoy, and also 5-10 riders, to transport the elyu, bosaga elyu, uigekerer and dzhirtys. The riders return at once when they have delivered the property and received kiit for it. The groom remains with the travelling companion in the tent of the father or uncle of the bride, and among the rich in a tent specially prepared for him. Sometimes a special tent is prepared for the companion. Then the matchmakers who encounter the groom on horseback or on foot ask for a gift for their "weariness" (intik ber) from preparing the tent. For leading the groom into the tent they ask for a gift again (chatyrbay-gazysy). Then the manager of the gifts (kade), the groom's travelling companion, distributes them, depending on the degree of kinship. The first and best gift is presented to the mother of the bride. After her is the bride's grandmother, etc. The uigekerer, for the entrance into the tent, consists /65/ of a camel or a horse. The uidzhirtys is entrusted in entirety to the mother of the bride for distribution "in the house." The auldzhirtys is given to the most respected woman "from the village," for distribution to the others. When the women announce that the gifts are inadequate, the groom sends his companion back for new gifts. After this the celebration of the oruntoy begins, continuing for one day. The bride is hidden somewhere, and the mistress of the house where she is hidden receives a kyz kashar gift for giving her up, consisting of cloth

1 [cf cat 116, pp 69-76 - A]

●58-1 (adryasa, tent cloth or calico) for 2-3 dresses.

In the evening, when the bed for the groom has been prepared(1),

1. The bed is prepared by women who receive a gift called tyusek salar for this.

two women call him, and for this they receive a gift called kuyauchakyrar. When he enters the tent, the bride's brother's wife sprinkles dried apricots, nuts and baursak (2) over him. This is called

2. Small pieces of dough, baked in sheep's fat.

chachu. Then the bride is brought in. In former times, when the bride entered the tent she threw fat on the fire burning in the middle of it, with the words: "fire - mother, fat - mother, give me your blessing" (ot ana mai ana dzharylga). The bii says "This custom existed at the time of Chingiz Khan, when they did not know books. It is a wicked custom." This same night one woman, lying behind the back of the bride and holding her tightly in her embrace, receives a gift called arka yatar or kyz kushaktar for her departure.

On the departure of the groom, the bride's father gives him a gift called "at the bottom of the sack" consisting of one animal, and if the kalym has not yet been completely paid, he fogives one animal from it.

The visits of the groom continue until the wedding. The rich groom rides in each time with his comrades. The gifts brought with them are less valuable and are designated for the bride's brothers' wives (yengeler).

If the groom dies after having visited the bride in the oruntoy, her parents bring her in mourning with gifts called aza into the village of the deceased, and here she mourns the groom for a year /66/, and then marries his brother or close kinsman. In the Russian period, adds bii Khalmahammed, this custom is being lost. But in earlier times it happened that 20-30 young men from the groom's village departed for the bride's village, in order to bring her by force.

According to bii Khalmahammed, of the Chimkent uyezd, in agreement with Makovetskii, Pt. I, pp. 7, 8, they distinguish the orunkelyu or esikachti, i.e., the first visit of the bride after the finished payment of the kalym, which is accompanied by a regalement of baursak with gifts called dzhirtich from the side of

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the groom, and also songs and kikbure races, arranged by the bride's father, from the yasyryn kelyu, which is the visit preceding the full payment of the kalym.

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A wedding can be performed in all months except the months of Safarai and Urazai (month of fasting) of the lunar calendar.

As opposed to the oruntoy celebration, the wedding feast, after which the bride is allowed to leave, is called the feast of giving leave (uzatatugun toy). The poor do not arrange an oruntoy but have the feast of giving leave directly.

The groom rides to the celebration of the wedding, taking place in the village of the bride's father, on a decorated horse with a travelling companion (yuldas), who carries sutakky with him for the bride's mother, a changarak for the new tent, door jambs and half of the necessary pieces of felt, as well as other gifts. The new tent is not put up at once, and sometimes not for a month, because it is necessary to buy appurtenances for it. The rich bride dons a headdress (saukale, among the Kirgiz shaukale). The groom appears before the bride's father in a coat with long sleeves. As he bows low before the bride's father, the bride's mother, the bride's brother and the latter's wife (yenge), the sleeves touch the ground. As he straightens up he passes his hands over his knees.

The bride's father, having received 7 or 8 coats, called toy dzhirtys, and one mare, provides regalement (as). The elders (kar'-yaler) sit, are given food and drink and watch the young men (boz-balalar) race kukbure. The prize on this day is a slaughtered kid, called sagulak. In the evening the girls gather in a tent other than the tent of the bride's father. The door is closed but the felts are raised all around. Outside /Inserted page. Bride wearing headdress. Drawing by Akhmatov./ /67/ sit the young men. A singing (ulen) contest begins between the young men and the girls. The young men sing together by twos. In order to prevent arguments, the older ones ask all the young men to sing in turn (kezek). The girls give a ring (sakyna) to the good singers, bracelets (bilezuk) and money. The girls are given dried apricots, flat cakes, etc. The elders listen to the singing.

The first day of the wedding is called the day of "the closing of the tent", otau dzhabar, in distinction from the "great feast" (ul'-kun toy). For closing the tent the women receive gifts, otau dzhabar. For muyuntastar (1) they receive a sheep which they divide.

1. Muyuntastar is the throwing of a sheep's neck through the

7/8 [Not reproduced -- A]

[209 cont.]

[663] Blinded by his resentment, Abulkhair considered this punishment as a new offense against him. He sought every means to harm Russia, and requested the protection of Persia.

[594] His son Khodja Akhmet had been transferred from Petersburg to Kazan, where he had fallen in love with the daughter of a Tatar and asked for her hand in marriage. Abuljhair's impertinences had been so frequent and so serious, that one cannot admire enough the patience with which the court at St. Petersburg put up with it. In order to give this khan one more proof of its indulgence, both toward him and toward his people, Tevkelev, who, as we have said, professed the same religion as the Kazaks, was sent to Orenburg in 1747. Furthermore he had spent more than a year among them and had acquired general respect, and he knew their customs and habits and had always been a friend of Abulkhair's. He was charged with placating Abulkhair through his advice, of reconciling him with Governor Nepluev, and of returning his son Khodja Akhmet to him, but in exchange for another son born of a khaness.

Abulkhair's death, which took place soon after, prevents us from [210] saying what the consequences of his dealings with Tevkelev would have been. But at the opening of these conferences, Abulkhair showed himself disposed to reconciliation. During the summer of 1748, he arrived at the fortress of Orsk (1)

1. This was the name given to the old Orenburg, after the new one was founded on the site which it now occupies.

for an interview with his old friend, and he not only gave as hostage another legitimate son named Aichuvak, who later became a khan, in place of Khodja Akhmet, but he also added the children of some of his elders. Furthermore he promised to [728] deliver immediately all the Russian prisoners taken by his subjects, and promised in writing that the Little Horde would never attack [662] the borders. When he arrived at the horde, however, he secretly

[216 cont.]

with Nurali to make a definitive agreement [216] on the building of the funeral monument, reported that in order to dissuade their khan from approaching the Russian border, the Kazaks reminded him of the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan and assured him that if the former nomadic residents of these cities had not settled at a fixed place their descendants would still be free today.

time was unable to give a positive answer. As for the site where Abulkhair had been buried, it lacked stone, lime, and construction timber. While these parleys were taking place, more important matters came up in the horde, and the desire felt by the Russian government to satisfy the request of Abulkhair's family grew weaker with time and circumstances. The map and the façade of the funeral monument made by the engineer and sent to Nurali are still preserved in the Orenburg archives though never executed.

To the Khan's joy, Empress Elizabeth's cabinet and the border authorities at Orenburg claimed only one service. This was to give up the Russians who were languishing as slaves of the Kazaks, and he was sent a special letter patent to this effect from St. Petersburg. Nurali and his brothers pledged themselves to satisfy this most just request, but to do so was beyond the limits of their weak power, and the promise was without effect, like the hundreds or even thousands of similar demands and obligations repeated to this day by the border commanders. Nurali had scarcely returned to the auls from Orenburg when he received ambassadors from the Djungarian kungtaidji, who had come in accordance with the proposal made by his father before his death to ask for his sister in marriage for their sovereign, and promised him the town of Turkestan in lieu of kalym /bride price/. It was difficult for him to form this alliance while

[216 cont.]
recognizing the suzerainty of Russia, but it was even more difficult to refuse a liaison by marriage with a sovereign who was so dreaded by Nurali's enemies, and especially to miss the chance of taking possession of Turkestan without bloodshed, for [217] his ancestors had reigned there and were buried there, and Abulkhair himself had lived there until he was driven out by the Dzungars.

Balanced between fear and hope, Nurali did not know what to decide. The sultans and elders advised him to send his sister to the kungtaidji without delay and then, relying on his help, to go to take revenge on Barak and his subjects for his father's death. This advice accorded perfectly with his wishes, but he did not see that they were contrary to the interests of Russia, which could punish him for his disloyalty.

Besides this, at that time there was a Russian officer with him who had accompanied him from Orenburg. In the presence of such a witness, he could not act except in secret, and for this reason he dismissed the Dzungarian ambassadors without the girl, but he promised to send her soon. When Nepluev asked the reason for this embassy, Nurali claimed it had come from Galdan Tsyren's son with proposals of peace and friendship. He also pretended that the Dzungars had proposed to him the exchange of the Kazak prisoners they had in their power for Volga Kalmuks, a large number of whom were slaves of the Little Horde. His knavery was of no avail for the Russian officer (1) who was then with the

1. See Captain Iakovlev's journal and reports in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

horde reported matters as they really were to the border authorities, and these reported them to the higher authorities, who found that an alliance by marriage between the Dzungarian and Kazak sovereigns could bring great harm to Russia. There had even been an example of this already, when Aiuka, khan of the Volga Kalmuk horde, had married Darma Bala, kinswoman of

[217 cont.]
the Dzungarian kungtaidji. She had incited his son Sanzhip to depart for Dzungaria with 15,000 tents in 1701. If the Dzungars, who had already subjugated the Great Horde long since and had hostages from all the sultans of the Middle Horde, also were united with the Little Horde through the alliance of their sovereigns, then the entire population of the lands [218] beginning from the western territories of China of that time until the northern part of the Caspian Sea could be put in movement at the first signal of one single chief, and the entire length of the Russian border, from the upper Irtysh all the way to the mouth of the Ural River, could be exposed to attack on the same day.

In order to avert this danger, it was indispensable for the Russian government to forbid Nurali to become the brother-in-law of the Dzungarian kungtaidji, and it was ordered that all proper measures be taken to prevent this alliance. It was regarded as most efficacious to use the counsels of a man respected by the Khan and known to all the Little Horde, namely Tevkelev. To this end he was sent to Orenburg expressly to have a conference with Nurali. In order to support the advice, favors, and promises with which Tevkelev was to load the Khan, Nepluev was commanded to begin the funeral monument for Abulkhair immediately and to add residences for the khans in order to please Nurali and his brothers. It was likewise decided to accept the illegitimate Chingis as hostage in place of the khan's legitimate brother (1), a thing which had often been refused to Abulkhair.

1. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of November 2, 1749 and August 13, 1750.

During the interval, Nurali was dismayed by the rumor which was spread that if the Dzungarian kungtaidji had a son by his sister, he would exterminate all the Kazak chiefs and their descendants in order to give that son the position of sole khan of all the Kazaks.

The death of Abulkhair's daughter destined for the chief of the Dzungars, which took place in 1750, reassured Russia.

595 Traditionally, the Kazakh was permitted to have more than one wife. However, very few men were able to afford the expense involved, because [583] marriage required large payments by the family of the groom to the family of the bride. For those who could afford it, the possession of many [554] wives meant an increase in prestige and status. Sometimes a man took another wife because he had not had any sons by the first wife. But in general, even though plural wives were permitted, such marriages were few in number. In 1926, only 104.5 women were reported as married [104] per 100 married men, exclusive of widows and divorcees. In Tsarist times the number was not much larger. At present polygamy is forbid- [648] den by law. Nevertheless, it is stubbornly maintained by the Kazakhs, and cases are constantly being reported and denounced in the Soviet press. It is still a matter of status and prestige; the bulk of the polyg- [554] amous marriages reported today involve men of high position in Soviet life, such as Kazakhs who are presidents of collective farms.

233 The Kazakh herds are composed of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and 221 camels, usually in that numerical order. Herds cannot be maintained through the entire year in one place, because the grass on the steppes is not rich enough to support them. They must move from month to month and from season to season. However, there are too many herdsmen and not enough steppeland to permit indiscriminate wandering. The usual pattern is for a nomadic camp to set up winter quarters where many smaller herding groups come together for religious and economic purposes. Here they store their hay through the winter to feed the livestock, and put up windbreaks against the winter storms. In the early spring they disperse into smaller herding groups of a few families each, and proceed over traditionally fixed grazing routes to the summer camp which they occupy until early fall. Nomadism is a fixed annual round of movement, not a haphazard one.

166 The 1926 census reported that 5.6 per cent of the Kazakh males had established residence outside the district in which they had been born. The comparable figure for women was 20 per cent. The explanation for 591 this difference lies in the marriage customs, under which a Kazakh woman traditionally moves to her husband's family residence. It is almost unheard of for a man to move to the home of his wife's kin or for both to move together to a new residence. Most of the marriages involved a woman's moving only a short distance to her husband's family. But at least a fifth of the women had to move away from their native districts; this usually meant that the marriage had been arranged for [584] them at some distance from their birthplaces.

No significant changes in Kazakh life had taken place by the time the first Soviet census was taken in 1926. The first few years of Soviet- 197 ization had left the Kazakhs more or less untouched. Their economic 648 life, their family life, and the traditional organization of their society had changed only externally. They had come under the unified rule of Moscow instead of continuing their own loose social groupings, but Moscow had not yet begun the transformation of Kazakh life, nor had the Kazakhs yet faced the problems involved in accommodating to or resisting Soviet influence.

Not so the Kazakhs. Among the Kazakhs and related societies, the role of maternal affection is simply not to be found, in the ethnographies or in the native literature. There are autobiographies of Kazakhs, among them that of the novelist Sabit Mukanov, and biographies of Kazakhs by Kazakhs. Nowhere does the theme of a mother's love for her son, nor of the son's affection for his mother, appear. These autobiographies and novels are products of the Soviet era, but there is nothing in the Soviet pattern which rules out the theme of mother love. Similarly, in collections of poems and songs of both the Soviet and the prerevolutionary eras, the idea of mother love rarely appears. These poems and songs celebrate the deeds of past heroes, or the love of a youth for a girl; girl's songs praise the bravery and handsomeness of the lover. The mother is simply missing. If by chance she should appear, it is only as one of a series of family members.

In the Kazakh language, the term of endearment for the mother is not centered on the mother alone; it designates at the same time mother, elder sister, paternal aunt. This could be taken as a symbol of the great force of mother love, so great that it has become generalized to all other closely related elder females. But this possibility must be ruled out in view of the almost complete silence which the Kazakhs maintain regarding the mother and the mother theme.

The novelist Mukhtar Auezov has written two novels about the 19th century Kazakh poet, Abai Kunanbaev. The general theme concerns the formation of the character of this 19th century Kazakh intellectual who turned to Russia for guidance (Abai is the translator into Kazakh of Pushkin's Eugene Onegin). Abai's life is presented in a literary pattern acceptable to the political line of the Soviet Union: the pattern of the daring youth who breaks with the past, overcoming the tyranny of the traditional life and storming toward the new. This theme is popular with the Soviet leadership, for it contains the notion of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union—under the aegis of the Great Russians. Abai's father is depicted as a monster of feudal oppression, and Abai is shown in stern revolt against him. Abai's mother appears briefly as part of a dim gallery of forces which are generally passive and favorably disposed toward the hero: the grandmother, the mother, a poetess of the era, Abai's beloved. The beloved is represented as lovable, the poetess as a beautiful singer, and the grandmother as a woman of wisdom—which is in general a male trait. The mother plays a brief, positive role in Abai's youth and then disappears from the novel. She herself is colorless, and the emotion is centered around the grandmother, a figure not of love but of wisdom.[1]

The absence of the mother role and mother love is true of other domains of Kazakh family life and social life generally. There is nothing that counterbalances the father-son orientation of the family and the society. Woman's status, however high it may rise, is inferior to that of the male. As a young girl, the steppe daughter is a "non-person"; she counts for little. She may be betrothed in infancy, in which case

[1] Auezov (3), 1949. See also Krader's doctoral dissertation (78), 1953, chapter 6. Winner (128) corroborates this analysis of the literary evidence.

593 she is physically a part of her paternal family but socially, spiritually,
562 she is already on her way to join her husband. Among the Turks of
562 the eighth century, a man could sell his daughter, provided she was
[584] neither betrothed nor married, if he could not otherwise pay the sum levied against him for a crime. These ancient Turks could not sell their wives, but could make seizure in such a case—but only such an extreme case—on the dowry which the wife had brought with her.

562 Yet a woman is not without rights among the Kazakhs. There is a considerable progression in her social status and personal rights when she advances from an unmarried to a married state, a progression which was true for the ancient Turks as well as for the Kazakhs, their descendants.[1] The modern unmarried Kazakh girl has no property, but on betrothal and marriage she obtains certain property rights. The [583] married woman receives her dowry which she, not her husband, controls. She may reserve it from her husband's estate and make provision for [595] its distribution among her own children, to prevent children of her husband by another wife from falling heir to her property.[2]

[583] The ethnographer Karutz comments that although a woman's family receives a certain amount of bridewealth from her husband's family on their marriage, this bridewealth is hardly commensurate with the cost and care of her upbringing.[3] (For poor Kazakhs bride-service, in which the youth works for the wife's father for a term, may take the place of payment of the bridewealth, but this is not the usual pattern.) One gains the impression that a girl prior to marriage is barely tolerated in her [593] parental home. She is there on sufferance until the day she marries and moves to her husband's home. A woman is a temporary resident in her father's home, a permanent resident in her husband's home. And the long-established member of the Kazakh community, especially if she is a woman, has a position which the newcomer does not. The mother-in-[606] law has superiority over the son's wife.

[554] A woman advances in status when she marries; she advances still further when she bears a son. The marriage arrangement between two Kazakh families is in the nature of a contract, the purpose of which is 584 the passage of a woman from one line to bear sons for another.[4] The 562 terms of the marriage "contract" involve a complex series of exchanges; bridewealth is paid by the boy's family to that of the girl, or bride-service is performed by the groom for the bride's father, a dowry is stipulated, and feasts and sumptuous gifts are exchanged between the families in as many as seven ceremonies. The riches of the exchanges [554] vary according to the wealth and status of the families. Among rich families, each tries to outdo the other in outlay; among the families of moderate wealth, traditionally fixed sums are exchanged; among the poor, the marriage takes place merely through the exchange of a sheep or a kid.[5]

[1]Ilichwin, 1950.
[2]Izraztsov, 1897, pp. 67-70.
[3]Karutz (72), 1911, p. 100.
[4]Krader (78), doctoral dissertation, 1953, ch. 6.
[5]Karutz (73), 1910, p. 38.

523 amount of the kalym, for usually very little bridewealth or wealth of any kind was exchanged in such marriages.

A common form of marriage arrangement was an exchange of daughters between or among families. These exchanges were of two kinds, one called uǰ urai, and the other called karsy. Let us consider the type called uǰ urai first. This was a marriage arrangement among three families, in which family A by agreement gave a daughter in marriage to a son of family B, which in turn gave a daughter in marriage to a son of family C, which gave a daughter in marriage to a son of family A. These circular marital arrangements, while not as universal as among the Gilyak, or as complex as among the Kachin, were at least widely enough known to obtain a specific appellation, uǰ urai. The second kind of exchange of daughters was called karsy, and was a simple exchange of daughters between two families. Such arrangements took place while the children were still minors, and were in many instances infant betrothals.[132]

524 These forms of marriage arrangement were, however, not the norm, which centered around the kalym. When the greater part of the kalym was paid, the groom acquired the right to visit the bride, who during this period still continued to dwell with her father; and the groom

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[132] Izraitsov, 74.

584 generally visited the girl in secret, without the knowledge of her father.[133] This cannot be regarded as true matri-patrilocal residence, because the groom did not really participate in the life of the bride's family; he only visited the girl's camp stealthily, as a stranger; he had not acquired a social position yet. It was only on the payment of the full kalym that the groom acquired full rights as a husband and the official wedding took place. Then the youth was given his tent, and took his bride to his father's residence, according to the rule of patrilocal residence.[134]

585 The Kazakh wedding embodied many features of the
873 Asiatic steppe pattern generally. The bride on entering
782 her husband's tent for the first time made obeisance to the fire in the husband's new yurt; and in addition she fed the fire with pieces of fat, a trait spread in the Altaic world from the Kalmuks to the Buryats, and forming part of the general shamanistic fire ceremonial.[135]

852 This ceremonial was repeated among the Great Horde Kazakhs on the birth of the first child, bowing to the fire and feeding it with pieces of fat. However, in addition, if the first child was a boy, it was an occasion for great

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[133] Radloff, op. cit., I, 477.

[134] Idem.

[135] Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus.

587 Grodekov and Levshin have reported it only as customary. Yet even though he phrased the matter in an extreme way, Radlov was able to interpret fittingly from our point of view certain biologically anomalous customs as the marriage of a mature widow to an immature boy who happened to be the surviving brother of the deceased husband.[142]

Latterly in Kazakh society, a marriage between a widow and a stranger, i.e., one not in the deceased husband's kin group, could not be opposed by the family of the deceased; but the remarriage was recognized as socially valid only if the kalym was paid in full to the late husband's family.[143] The full status of the mother of sons is seen in her right to hold the deceased husband's estate in trust for her minor sons; it is seen in the practices governing widow remarriage as well. If a widow had borne male children, she could not be forced to remarry against her will.[144] But if she was childless or had borne only daughters, then she remained single only if she was ailing or aging.[145]

•584 A kalym might require a number of years to be paid in full; nevertheless, the girl could not be married to

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[142] Radloff, op. cit., I, 485.

[143] Dingelstedt, 155.

[144] Izraitsev, 93.

[145] Ibid., 68.

[Great Horde]

684 anyone else unless she was past 20 years of age; and in such a case an appeal to the bii[1] had first to be made. If the original exchange of gifts had been made, a part of the kalym paid, and the girl was married to another before she was 20, then the kalym had to be returned, and in addition a heavy fine of from three to six nines of horses or camels had to be paid to the family of the rejected groom. This was an extremely heavy fine, in view of the fact that the kalym itself, which was reckoned a heavy tax on the family of the bridegroom, was equal to seven sevens of horses, or nine nines, or more. If the girl died, a sister would be supplied by the family of the dead girl, if possible, but the kalym in this case was much lower.[146]

768 587 If the wife died within two years of the marriage, the husband was obliged to return to the wife's family the dowry and all her private possessions, ornaments, etc. If she died after two years of the marriage, or having died before the two-year limit had borne sons to her husband, the husband was obliged to return nothing, nor could he ask for kalym in return as he might if the woman died before two years of marriage and childless. But he might require the family of the wife to supply him with another wife, in which case he paid a lower kalym.[147]

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[146] Izrastsov, 81.

[147] Ibid., 82-83.

[1] [On the bii or "elder," cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 411-412--Analyst]

[Middle Horde]

reciprocal one; on coming of age, the son could make no more demands on the father; the allotment made was at the same time a quittance of further obligation.

A distinction was made between the inheritance of real property and the transmission of such intangibles as authority. The father was the absolute lord in his family, and his authority passed, in accordance with the principle of primogeniture, to the eldest son, or lacking a son, to a brother of the deceased. Related families were gathered into villages, aul, and a village elder, or bii, generally had a position of influence in public affairs, and a limited amount of authority in intra-family matters. Thus there was a limitation on the paternal power.

The leadership of a sub-lineage, a village, or a family, passed in the direct line through the eldest sons.[168] The status of bii some decades later, in the 1860's, is described as quasi-hereditary, and a case is cited by Valikhanov in which it remained in one family through four generations.[169] The office later came to be appointive, and only quasi-hereditary.

Among these Kazakhs of the Middle Horde, one means of settling disputes is reported as having especial promi-

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[168] von Lebedour, II, 459-461.

[169] Valikhanov, 162.

[Middle Horde]

605 602 584 nsnce, the use of affinal ties. The bii would propose that a youth of one side marry a sister of the other; or alternatively, that one party marry off his son to a daughter of the other, provided that neither is already betrothed. The disputants would then embrace and call each other kuda, father-in-law of the respective children. In such a case, the children must be eligible to marry according to the rules of exogamy.[170] The close interrelation between the kinship system and the law is demonstrated in the interfunctioning of both consanguineal and affinal relationships in the adjudicative process.

177.69 695 428 The legal process continued to function within the kinship system even under conditions of acculturation, as evidenced in the following case among the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde in the 1870's. A man had two older brothers who had been allotted their shares of the father's estate during the lifetime of the father, while the youngest remained by his father's side until the death of the latter. Through the principle of ultimogeniture, the residual property should have gone to the youngest son, but the two older brothers threatened to take the herds and pasturage away from him. The youngest brother then appealed to his legal authorities, the biis of his community. (Note: the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde had been

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[170] Ibragimov, 237.

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602 The decision as to the time for betrothal conversations, and the decision as to whom to request as a wife rests on the unconditional discretion of the father.[185] Neither of the betrothed has any say in the matter, nor have their mothers, for authority is patriarchal. In the initiation of betrothal arrangements, a go-between, a close kin or friend of the boy's family, is sent to the family of the girl.[186] Why a go-between? It is insufficient to say that there is a stern taboo on contact between boy and the family of the bride, and that therefore a go-between is necessary. Such a taboo existed, and took the following form: the affianced youth could not show his face to his prospective father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law, nor to any older agnatic kin of the girl's father until the day of the marriage itself. The future son-in-law either had to hide himself quickly or run to the side if he should encounter them by chance. This was explained by the Kazakhs as (1) a reflection of respect for one's elders, and (2) the attitude of a debtor who has not acquitted himself fully of his debt.[187]

However, this taboo does not explain why the youth's

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[185] Altynsarin, 103; Balliuzek, 69; Karuts, Von Kirgisischer Hochzeit, 37.

[186] Balliuzek, 71; Altynsarin, 104.

[187] Altynsarin, 108.

584 father preferred not to represent his son. The under-
602 standing of the role of the go-between and its necessity involves the entire relationship between the two affinally related families. The wife-givers lost a daughter and her dowry, they acquired bridewealth in exchange; they also gained prestige, as Leach has put it, for the husband and his family regarded the wife's kinsmen as occupying a socially higher position than their own, comparable with the Kalmuks (Aberle) and the Ordos (Mostaert) as well. In the case of Adai's lineage, 1 one of the component sub-lineages was senior to the other, but this seniority was a matter of collateral ranking of lineages; it had nothing to do with the affinal relations involved here, even though the same people were involved. The affinal 'prestige debt' was wiped out between the two sub-lineages over the course of time, through the normal exchange of daughters in marriage; it was a reciprocal relation, whereas seniority is not a reciprocal relation at all. The youth's family went to the bride's family as seekers, they were as a social group in an inferior position to the future wife's family, not the would-be husband alone. The sending of a go-between is an expression in a modified and less stringent form of the general avoidance practice between future son-in-law and wife's family, for the youth's family was the debtor, and not the youth alone, they were the wife-seekers, the payers of respect.

1 [Cf. ref. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 466-467 -- Analyst]

[Little Horde - Mangyshlak Kazaks]

584 On the Mangyshlak Peninsula at the turn of the century, the betrothal was usually arranged while the prospective pair were still children, between three and eight years of age.[188] The marriage itself did not take place for several years, until the children were ten or eleven years old at the earliest, including leviratic marriage.[189] The general tendency in marriage, however, was for it to take place between the ages of thirteen to fifteen years, which corresponds to reports elsewhere in the Kazakh steppe; among the rich, on the other hand, it might wait until the couple were twenty years old.[190]

556 584 There was a broad distinction between wealthy Kazakhs and poor Kazakhs; the rich tended to marry the rich, and the poor married the poor, for the bridewealth necessary for a rich wife was beyond the means of a poor Kazakh.[191] However, if a family of moderate means wished to acquire a wealthy family connection, it might seek for a wife for its son in those quarters, but the marriage would then have to be delayed considerably until the entire kalym, or a major portion of it, had been paid.[192]

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188 Karuts, op. cit., 37.

189 Altynsarin, 101.

190 Plotnikov, 123-124.

191 Karuts, op. cit., 37.

192 Plotnikov, loc. cit.

[Little Horde]

583 adornment, but the girl left her natal aul and family, and was lost to them economically, while the young man remained with his family.[197]

583 But this explanation[1] is still insufficient, because 584 it ignores what is expected of the wife: not only her economic power, but her capacity to produce children, and specifically sons. The transaction involving wealth in exchange for bride is not accounted an equal transaction, because the Kazakh family still placed a higher value on male than female children, as the author who proposed the above explanation himself reports.[198] The levirate, the attitude toward the widow and the children, as well as the simple value placed on a male child, all point to the interpretation of the marriage among the Asiatic steppe pastoralists as a contract for the services of the wife for the production of male issue.

584 If a girl died while still only betrothed, the father of the girl was obliged to find a substitute, a sister or other junior kinswoman, or else return the kalym or that part of it which had already been made over to him. If the affianced boy and his family refused a marriage with a younger sister of the deceased girl, they forfeited the kalym which they had already

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[197] Karuts, Unter Kirgisen, 100.

[198] Ibid., 101.

[1] [Cf. cat. 583, p. 477-478. - Analyst]

[Little Horde]

584 parted with. Again, if the father of the deceased girl declined to supply the boy with another daughter, he was required to pay back the entire kalym which he had already received,[199] and pay an indemnity in addition.

In the process of making the marriage arrangements, the go-between brought the two families together. The primary concern in these arrangements was the amount of kalym, and the amount of dowry. The kalym was paid over 585 602 a period of years, during the course of which ceremonies to the number of seven were celebrated; the sixth ceremony was held as the bride left her father's residence and was usually associated with the completion of the kalym payments.[200] A part of this ceremony was a mock abduction of the bride and a mock struggle between her partisans and those of the groom, in which a degree of suppressed antagonism was given free expression, both between women and men, and between the two kin groups about to become related by marriage. It was only on this occasion that the groom could move freely in the presence of his wife's elder kinsmen; the taboo on his relationships with them was now lifted. The seventh and final ceremony was performed on entering the new tent of the husband.[201]

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[199] Balliusek, 87-88.

[200] Karuts, Kirgisische Hochzeit, 37-38.

[201] Ibid., 39-41; Plotnikov, 131-132, 135.

8:Kostenko -27-G-4,5(1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak RQ2
584 Marriage. Usually the Kazakhs, especially
584 the wealthy ones, betrothe their children when
581 still very young, that is, not asking their
consent, and for the most part they have in
view equality of wealth and not equal age. In
585 general, Kazakh marriage has much in common
581 with a civil contract, of course within the
crude concepts of this people; the religious
element here is only very weakly developed.
584 The most important stages of the marriage are
583 the following ones. Whether the children were
betrothed earlier or not, the match-making
begins with gifts from the groom's side to the
bride's father, and the latter on his part is
obliged to reciprocate with gifts to the groom's
kinsmen who have brought the gifts. These gifts
are called 'kiet'. Meanwhile, if there has
been no earlier agreement, the father of the
bride, assembling his kinsmen, decides by
general council the amount to be paid for the
bride, called 'kalym', and the terms of its
payment. The kalym may be 120,60 and 40 sheep,
depending on the wealth of the families. In
addition to the kalym, however, the groom must
give 'bas' and ' ayak-yakhshi' (a good head
and a good foot). These two gifts, depending
on the amount of property owned. are usually
9 camels for the bas-yakhshi and one camel, a
horse, a cow and a weapon for the ayak-yakhshi.
Earlier the bas-yakhshi consisted of one or
two slaves. If the people are poorer, then the
bas-yakhshi is one or two camels and horses,
and the ayak-yakhshi is a horse, a cow and
khalats. Finally the usual bas-yakhshi is a
horse and khalats, and the usual ayak-yakhshi
is cows, sheep and goats. After this the father
sends to the groom's aul for the kalym and
receives it according to the following reckoning:
for 120 sheep he gets 80, for 60 he gets 40,
for 40 he gets 27, because a part is counted
as future offspring. The groom first pays the

584 kalym or part of it and gives gifts /343/ to
583 the kinsmen, and pays one yakhshi, usually the ayak-yakhshi. Then he carries the remaining yakhshi himself when he rides for the first time to the bride's, and this yakhshi is called 'elu'. For this he receives the right to visit the bride at night, and spends about three days in the aul, secretly, as it were. He steals into the tent during this time and the parents of the bride act as though they knew nothing about it. In order to receive the right to visit the bride during the day the groom again gives gifts. To her father he gives the so-called 'tui-mal' and to her mother a payment for her milk, 'syut-ake'. The value of the tuimal, which depends entirely upon the wealth involved, and among the righ may be from 50 to 100 horses and one harness, is returned to the groom in the form of the bride's dowry if the marriage is broken off. The match-making sometimes lasts quite a long time, perhaps a year or more. During this time all the entertainment of guests is at the expense of the
[585] bride's father. Only after this period is over does the groom ride to fetch the bride. For this he puts on his best clothing, mounts his best horse and arrives at the aul of his future wife. Here a tent has already been prepared for him, and after a prayer by the mullah, which i. actually the wedding, the bride and groom are led into the tent and left there alone. All these arrivals are of course accompanied by feasts and entertainments but the groom suffers especially during the last visit for the relatives of the bride take away everything, his horse, clothing, weapon, etc. In addition, all through the match-making the bride's brother has the right to steal anything he wants from the groom without paying any fine for it, and if he is caught he

584 is only given an ordinary beating. From all
583 this one can see that the marriage consists of a civil agreement under a show of gifts, and both sides have almost an equal interest in conforming to it. But the real advantage goes to the bride's kinsmen who receive gifts and return nothing. Sometimes the bride is not given so informally to the groom, and she must be taken by force, and yet certain customs are observed in this case as well. After the final cohabitation, the newly-weds return home and are accompanied triumphantly, and then the celebrations begin at the groom's father's and at his expense. It is self-evident that the number of gifts and the elaborateness of the feasts are always in proportion to the means of both sides.

764 /344/ Burial. According to Kazakh custom the deceased is washed and dressed in his best clothing, and sometimes he is wrapped in a khalat. If a man has died, his wives are required to set up a terrible wail of despair and repeat this ceremony mornings and evenings for a year. In these cases the neighboring women never lag in visiting the one in mourning in order to wail with her to satiety. At the funeral the mullah reads prayers twice; at home, before the body is carried out, and at the actual burial. They dig a pit with a wooden floor for the deceased, or they place him at the side of the main pit. Graves are usually on elevations, and over them they make memorials of wood, stone, clay or earth, sometimes in the form of buildings with a round cupola and turrets. It is remarkable that very often the Kazakhs depart in this case from the Moslem rules and make images of animals and people in
765 these tombs. Of course, at the burial there is usually a feast for the guests, but the

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